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naval display so far seen is responsible for the failure. But it is better a hundred times that the Exposition should have proved the dismal failure that it threatens to be, than that it should have had a great success through the instrumentality of the flaming military and naval pageant projected for it, by which the old and fast-decaying war system of the past would have been given among us a status of honor and glory which it has never had in our national history.

The members of the Advisory Board, who raised the protest against the perversion of the Exposition to the purposes of militarism, are entitled to the sincerest gratitude of the nation. It was this protest, sent to a thousand newspapers and otherwise widely distributed, which aroused the people to the true character of the snare which was set for them. The response was most extraordinary. Preachers, teachers, distinguished religious and educational leaders, prominent men of affairs, great dailies and weeklies, even some of the army and navy organs, protested that they wanted no such spectacular folly enacted at the birthplace of the nation, whose chief glory has been its consecration to the development of the arts of peace. Such a spectacular performance would, they said, be entirely out of harmony with the historic traditions of the nation and its social and political ideals. But in spite of this emphatic expression of the general sentiment of the nation against a glorification of "bloody war" and its deadly instruments, the Jamestown Directors persisted in the course which they had entered upon, at the same time trying to explain away the real purpose of the military and naval display.

Their folly, we are glad to say, has recoiled on their own heads. The condemnation meted out to them has been severer than any one had expected. It has been of a type which they could not misunderstand. And herein lies the encouragement of the situation. This great nation, in spite of moments of aberration, is and always has been for peace and not for war; for the perpetuation and glorification of the arts of life and upbuilding, not those of destruction and ruin. They have refused in this case to be blinded by "the pomp and circumstance of war," by which it was sought to deprive them of their dollars and to turn their faces back toward the ignorant and inhuman past. The nation which has thus, in an hour of severe testing, impressively uttered what we believe to be its "everlasting no" to the impassioned blandishments of modern overgrown militarism, is uttering at The Hague, where our delegates are taking a strong lead, its "everlasting yes" to the new order of human society, which, in time, will make such displays as the Jamestown program called for as impossible, even in conception, as the Indian war dances and the ancient gladiatorial conflicts are to civilized man to-day.

Opening of the Hague Conference.

The second intergovernmental Peace Conference of the nations opened at The Hague on June 15, in the Knights' Hall of the Binnenhof Palace. Representatives of all the forty-six powers of the world were present. The opening, though most impressive, was very informal and democratic. Even the military and naval delegates wore civilian dress, the Netherlands government, in order to make prominent the peaceful purposes of the Conference, having specially requested that no uniforms or insignia of rank be worn. There were no military demonstrations. Only thirteen soldiers were on guard, five on horseback and eight on foot, and even these might as well have been kept away.

The Conference was called to order by Dr. Van Goudriaan, the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs, who welcomed the delegates in behalf of the Queen, and then introduced Mr. A. J. Nelidoff, Russian Ambassador to France, as president of the Conference. Dr. Van Goudriaan was made honorary president, and Dr. William H. de Beaufort, head of the Netherlands delegation, vice-president. Dr. de Beaufort was Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1899, and opened the first Hague Conference.

Mr. Nelidoff's opening address was what might have been expected. It followed the limited Russian program as published in advance. It was pessimistic in tone in regard to limitation of armaments and the ultimate abolition of war. But though he declared that the dream of universal peace would never be realized, and that there was a whole class of questions involving "the honor, dignity and essential interests" of the nations which they would never submit to any authority but themselves, yet he urged that ruptures and armed conflicts might be prevented by arbitration, that the horrors of war might be greatly mitigated, that the causes of conflict might be removed, and that the goal of universal peace might be gradually approached.

One of the best evidences of the optimistic spirit of progress that animated the Conference as a whole was the perceptible coolness with which the pessimistic parts of Mr. Nelidoff's speech were received. The delegates as a body were evidently in favor of something much more advanced.

The opening session lasted less than an hour. The public were admitted and the Hall of the Knights was full. The delegations were seated in French alphabetic order, beginning at the President's right, thus putting Germany (*Allemagne*) first, and the United States (*Amérique*) second. The French and British delegates were seated side by side in the hall. The large body of delegates from the South and Central American countries gave the Conference a very different aspect from that of 1899.

On the 19th of June the second session was held, the interval having been spent in conferences among the leaders from the larger powers regarding the organization and the appointment of committees. The session was behind closed doors. Four commissions or committees were appointed for the consideration of the subjects contained in the Russian program. Mr. Léon Bourgeois, head of the French delegation, was appointed chairman of the Commission on Arbitration and the Hague Court; Count Tornielli of Italy, chairman of the Commission on Rights of Neutrals, private property at sea in war time, regulations concerning the bombardment of ports, the location of floating mines, etc.; Mr. Frederick de Martens of Russia, chairman of the commission on the Adaptation of the Geneva Convention to Naval Warfare; and Mr. Auguste Beernaert of Belgium, chairman of the Commission on Regulations of Land Warfare. All of the delegations appointed representatives on these commissions. General Porter was made honorary president of the commission on Land Warfare, and Mr. Choate honorary president of that on Maritime Warfare. The commissions will number nearly one hundred members each, the total number of delegates to the conference being reported to be one hundred and ninety.

At this meeting it was decided that future plenary sittings of the conference should be open to the public, and that statements should be given out each evening of the deliberations of the commissions. The surprise of this session was the announcement by General Horace Porter that the United States reserved the right to present the question of the limitation of armaments. Mr. Choate announced that he would present to the Arbitration Commission the question of the collection of contract debts by force, and Sir Edward Fry, on behalf of Great Britain, served notice that his country reserved the right to introduce other subjects than those on the Russian program. Baron von Bieberstein announced that Germany would offer a proposal for an international prize court to which appeals could be made in time of maritime warfare. Thus it seems that the program will be much enlarged as the Conference goes on.

On the 22d of June the Commissions began their work, and there will be no more full sessions of the Conference till some committee report is ready. The dispatches indicate that the Commissions have set about their tasks with great vigor. The most striking features so far have been: the presentation in the first committee of a paper on conventions of obligatory arbitration by Mr. de la Barra, Mexican Minister to Belgium, which was received with general applause; the presentations of propositions by both the German and the British delegations on the subject of the proposed international prize court; the presentation by the French delegation of a project on

the subject of arbitration; the presentation also by the French delegation in the second committee of a project on the rights and duties of neutrals, and one on the opening of hostilities; the presentation by the German delegation of a proposition regarding the treatment of neutrals in the territory of belligerents; the presentation by the United States delegation of a proposition on the Drago doctrine; one by Germany for an amendment of the Convention of 1899 for the pacific settlement of disputes; and one by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant for an amendment to the Convention of 1899 regarding international commissions of inquiry.

Important speeches have been made, by Mr. Bourgeois on the subject of arbitration and its development; by Mr. de Martens on the work accomplished by the first Hague Conference and the vast field still to be covered; and by Mr. Choate on the exemption of private property from capture at sea in time of war. The dispatches indicate that Mr. Choate's presentation of the subject was a masterly one and made a deep impression on the Committee.

A number of the leading peace makers of the different countries are at The Hague. Prominent among these are Hon. Robert Treat Paine, president of the American Peace Society, Hon. Richard Bartholdt, president of the Interparliamentary Group in Congress, the Baroness von Suttner from Vienna, Felix Moscheles, president of the International Arbitration and Peace Association of London, and W. T. Stead. Mr. Stead is editing at The Hague a daily paper entitled *Le Courrier de la Conférence*. Many letters, cablegrams and memorials from different countries have been arriving at The Hague urging advanced action in behalf of measures which will ensure permanent international peace. One of the most impressive of these was the address presented by Dean Freemantle from the churches of the world, urging the Conference to insure peace, justice and humanitarianism among the nations. The address was signed by the leaders of the different religious bodies including all leading churchmen of Great Britain except the British Catholics. Nine American Catholic bishops were among the signers.

It is too early yet to make any extended forecast of what the most important results of the Conference will be. Two of the greatest of the subjects which have been urged for discussion, limitation of armaments and periodic meetings of the Hague Conference, have not yet received any public consideration. In private, however, they have been much discussed, and the progressive spirit of the Conference, as a body, gives ground to believe that as the proceedings go on they will not be ignored. All the dispatches agree in describing this assemblage of representatives of all the nations as a most

impressive and inspiring gathering, from which great results toward the peace and welfare of the world must necessarily come.

Echoes of the Eighteenth of May.

The 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of the first Hague Conference, was more widely observed by the schools this year than heretofore, and the indications are that it will grow in favor. As the 18th fell on Saturday, the celebrations were divided between Friday and the following Monday.

This day was first proposed to the State Superintendents of Instruction by the American Peace Society in 1905. In that year Hon. George H. Martin, Secretary of the Board of Education, in a circular that has since become famous, recommended it in Massachusetts. It was observed here and also in Ohio. These States were followed by Vermont, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Kansas in 1906, and by Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Montana, Idaho, Colorado and California this year. In some of the extreme Southern States and in the Philippine Islands the fact that the schools close before the 18th of May makes its observance by them impossible, while in other States, among them New York, the superintendents are waiting for its recognition by the Legislature or for sufficient public opinion to warrant them in adopting it. The comment is occasionally made that so many days are now set apart on the calendar for special exercises that no place can be found for this or for any new anniversary.

But perhaps the most hopeful sign of its general acceptance in the near future is the unanimous endorsement given it by the meeting of more than eight hundred superintendents in Chicago, in April, and its cordial recommendation by Hon. Elmer E. Brown, the United States Commissioner of Education, in his forthcoming annual report.

In some States, particularly in the Middle West, where the peace movement is strong in the colleges, but where as yet the State Boards of Public Instruction have not recognized it as of importance in education, the school authorities in many cities and towns have celebrated Peace Day on their own initiative. Evidence of this is shown in numerous applications for literature which local superintendents, principals or teachers have sent to the American Peace Society. Iowa, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Minnesota are frequently represented by them. Tennessee, among the Southern States, must also be included in this category.

Several cities have taken extensive notice of the day, among them being Toledo, Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio. In Cincinnati, where William Christie Herron and others have been active in our auxiliary peace society, the Intercollegiate Peace Association met on this occasion in a convention at the Cincinnati Law School. In Columbus the International Arbitration Committee of the Board of Trade, whose chairman is W. A. Mahony, one of our active workers, and whose membership includes J. A. Shawan, Superintendent of the Public Schools, was instrumental in bringing about a thorough observance in the schools.

New York City shares with Ohio and Massachusetts the honor of being a pioneer in taking up this custom.

Philadelphia, joining with Pennsylvania as a whole under the enthusiastic leadership of State Superintendent Schaeffer, sent the following instructions to her school principals through her city superintendent, Dr. M. G. Brumbaugh: "These exercises, relating to the general doctrine of peace, are to be such as in your judgment will best create an interest in this important principle. The widespread interest in the peace movement, the approaching Conference at the Hague, the general recognition of the value of peace as a promoter of civilization, and the great significance of the principles of peace in the lives of all our people, should be laid before the children clearly and impressively." A correspondent writes from San Francisco: "Our city superintendent, Alfred Roncovieri, did good work in requesting Peace Day observance in our schools on Friday, May 17, and giving suggestions for the same." Minneapolis, as was reported in the earnest and hopeful speech of ex-Mayor Jones at the Mohonk Conference, observed the day fittingly throughout her school system. New Orleans brought its lessons home to thirty-three thousand pupils in her public schools. According to the announcement in the *Daily States*, it was arranged that at every one of her public schools a principal should explain not only the significance of the celebration, but the aims of the delegation to The Hague, and that his remarks should be followed by an address by some well-known citizen, after which there should be essays, recitations and musical numbers by the pupils. The exercises were held at the afternoon session. After they were over the children were dismissed. In Springfield, Mass., where plans for the observance were delayed until it was too late to have an elaborate or formal program in the schools, the 18th of May was observed on Saturday by the citizens. At the suggestion of Charles G. Howard, a Civil War veteran who knows what war means, the American flag was displayed throughout the city. The object of showing the flag was to impress people with the importance of the day and especially to give it significance to the foreign-born population. Such is the statement made in a recommendation drawn up by Dr. Philip S. Moxom, a vice-president of our American Peace Society, and signed by Principal William Orr of the Central High School, and other leading citizens. The *Springfield Sunday Republican* says that "it is probable that a fuller recognition of the occasion will come next year in consequence of the worthy start made yesterday."

The Governor of Utah, who has lately appointed a committee to form a peace society in his State, called a public meeting on Sunday afternoon, May 19, in the large Tabernacle of Salt Lake City. Women's organizations held meetings in all the wards of that city in the evening.

In Hartford, where the new Connecticut Peace Society, an auxiliary of the American Peace Society, is vigorously promoting the peace movement, the recognition of the day was appropriate and general. A circular issued by the Society was approved by the Governor of the State, the State Board of Education, and the Connecticut School Superintendents' Association, and signed by Arthur Deerin Call, president, who is also president of the Board of Principals in the city. It closes with this appeal to the schoolboards and teachers of the State: "Elihu Burritt of Connecticut, half a century before the Czar's rescript, proposed a World's Court. It was in